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ACTION IO-16

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	AID-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00
	OASY-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	FDRE-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SB-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/060W				

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O 240210Z NOV 94
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1230
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ROME
SECDEF WASHDC
OSD WASHDC
NSC WASHDC
JOINT STAFF WASHDC
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA

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AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 005222

NSC FOR CLARKE
STATE FOR BUSHNELL AND BRIMS
OSD FOR RWANDA TASK FORCE
JCS FOR J-5

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, RW, UNSC,
SUBJECT: RWANDA: USUN PLAN OF ACTION

1. CONFIDENTIAL. ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. BEFORE THE END OF NOVEMBER, THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD FINALIZE A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO THE SYG ON SECURITY IN THE CAMPS AND ADOPT A RESOLUTION EXTENDING UNAMIR'S MANDATE FOR 6 MONTHS. IN ORDER TO ACT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER AND THE UNAMIR RESOLUTION BY THE END OF THE MONTH, USUN MUST RECEIVE DRAFTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT BY COB FRIDAY.

3. AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE SYG'S PREFERRED OPTION FOR SECURITY IN THE CAMPS, USUN PROPOSES A GRADUATED INTEGRATED RESPONSE. BEFORE DEPLOYING A 3 BATTALION PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN THE ZAIRIAN CAMPS, WE SUGGEST BEGINNING WITH A SMALLER HUMANITARIAN SECURITY OPERATION WHILE DEVELOPING THE POLITICAL
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AND ECONOMIC TRACKS. END SUMMARY.

UNAMIR RENEWAL

4. WE HAVE TWO RESOLUTIONS TO GET THROUGH THE COUNCIL IN THE NEXT MONTH. THE FIRST IS THE UNAMIR MANDATE RENEWAL. WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS IN THE COUNCIL ON THIS. WE WILL CIRCULATE

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A DRAFT RESOLUTION TO COUNCIL MEMBERS ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28 AND PLAN TO ADOPT IT ON WEDNESDAY THE 30TH. IN ORDER TO MEET THIS SCHEDULE WE WILL NEED TO RECIEVE A DRAFT RESOLUTION FROM THE DEPARTMENT BY COB FRIDAY.

CAMP SECURITY RESOLUTION

5. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE A CAMP SECURITY RESOLUTION IN A TWO STEP PROCESS. THE FIRST STEP WILL BE A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL THAT INDICATES WHICH OPTION THE COUNCIL FAVORS, AND ASKS FOR FURTHER SPECIFIC INFORMATION.

6. WE PROPOSE THAT THE LETTER ASK FOR THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION: 1) A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK TO SUPPORT A UN MISSION IN THE CAMPS--I.E., A MECHANISM FOR INITIATING TALKS BETWEEN THE

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GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND HUTU LEADERS; 2) COST AND TROOP AVAILABILITY INFORMATION ON THE SYG RECOMMENDED OPTION A; 3) A PROPOSAL FOR A MORE MODEST HUMANITARIAN OPTION (NOT INCLUDED IN THE REPORT) AS A PRELIMINARY STEP TO OPTION A (SEE PARAS 9-12 FOR MORE DETAILS). THE LETTER SHOULD ALSO DIRECT THE SYG TO SEND OUT A MISSION TO ASSESS THE UNHCR POLICE SECURITY OPTION AS REQUESTED IN PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE SYG REPORT.

7. IN ORDER FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ACT ON THE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH, USUN MUST RECEIVE A DRAFT LETTER FROM THE DEPARTMENT BY COB FRIDAY. WE WILL THEN CIRCULATE IT IN THE COUNCIL ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28 AND FINALIZE IT ON TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY.

8. ONCE WE RECEIVE THE SYG RESPONSE TO THE LETTER, WE WILL MOVE AHEAD WITH A RESOLUTION. IF WE ARE TO

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ADOPT A RESOLUTION BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS BREAK, WE
WILL NEED SYG FEEDBACK BY DECEMBER 14. THIS WILL
LEAVE A WEEK AND A HALF TO MAKE A USG DECISION ON

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THE NEW OPERATION AND ADOPT A RESOLUTION IN THE
COUNCIL.

GRADUATED, INTEGRATED RESPONSE

9. INTERAGENCY DISCUSSIONS, YESTERDAY'S FRIENDS
MEETING AND INITIAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS
HAVE ALL RAISED THE ISSUES OF A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK
AND AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM (THE SECURITY COUNCIL
DISCUSSION ON RWANDA WAS POSTPONED UNTIL MONDAY
AFTER OPENING COMMENTS BY A FEW DELEGATIONS).
UNLESS HUTU LEADERS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA
ARE ENGAGED IN A PRODUCTIVE POLITICAL DIALOGUE, A
UN OPERATION COULD BECOME PEACE ENFORCEMENT INSTEAD

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OF PEACEKEEPING. THIS IS THE CASE EVEN WITH THE
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SYG'S MORE PRAGMATIC OPTION A. WITHOUT AN ECONOMIC
PROGRAM INSIDE RWANDA, REFUGEES WILL HAVE LITTLE
INCENTIVE TO RETURN AND COULD EVEN PROVE A
DESTABILIZING FORCE IF THEY RETURNED IN LARGE
NUMBERS.

10. USUN PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING GRADUATED PLAN AS
A WAY TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
ISSUES WHILE STILL ADDRESSING THE SECURITY CONCERNS:

PHASE I: CIVILIAN CONTRACT FOR DAYTIME SECURITY OF
HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS (UNHCR MODEL).

PHASE II: ADD A NEW FORCE IN ZAIRE (ABOUT 1
BATTALION OF 1000 TROOPS) TO SUPPORT HUMANITARIAN
RELIEF OPERATIONS.

PHASE II: EXPAND SYG'S OPTION A (3 BATTALIONS OF
3,000 TROOPS) TO ESTABLISH SECURE AREAS AND
ENCOURAGE REPATRIATION.

11. DURING PHASE I AND II, THE UN MUST INITIATE A
SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE
GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND HUTU LEADERS (INCLUDING
THOSE IN THE CAMPS) IN ORDER TO DEVELOP A POLITICAL
FRAMEWORK TO SUPPORT A LARGER PEACEKEEPING
DEPLOYMENT. DURING THIS PERIOD THE UN MUST ALSO
COORDINATE A SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
PROGRAM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA TO PREPARE FOR
THE RETURN OF REFUGEES.

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12. PHASE III SHOULD BE APPROVED ONLY WHEN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRAMEWORKS ARE DEVELOPED TO THE EXTENT THAT THE UN CAN OPERATE IN THE CAMPS (IN CHAPTER VI ENVIRONMENT) AND RWANDA CAN SUPPORT LARGE-SCALE REFUGEE RETURNS.

13. THE PROPOSED OPTION WOULD ACHIEVE THE MINIMAL GOAL OF ADDRESSING THE SECURITY CONCERNS OF THE NGOS AND ALLOWING HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS IN THE CAMPS TO CONTINUE. ONCE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ALLOW FOR A MORE AMBITIOUS PEACEKEEPING OPERATION, THE SYG'S OPTION A CAN BE PURSUED.

14. BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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